

"I want to restore to the people of the State complete control of their State government; to afford the voters of the State the freest expression of their choice of candidates for public office; and I believe that my pending State-wide direct Primary bill embraces an honest, a sincere, a comprehensive, and a practical plan for these accomplishments."—Extract from Governor Sulzer's message vetoing Senator Blauvelt's bill amending the Election Law.

GOVERNOR SULZER'S MESSAGE FAVORING
DIRECT STATE-WIDE PRIMARIES.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE SULZER
BILL FOR STATE-WIDE DIRECT PRIMARIES.

EXPLANATION OF THE FEATURES OF THE
SULZER STATE-WIDE PRIMARY BILL.

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GOVERNOR SULZER'S SPEECH TO THE CHAIR-
MEN OF THE DEMOCRATIC COUNTY COM-
MITTEES SUPPORTING THE SULZER BILL FOR
STATE-WIDE DIRECT PRIMARIES.

William Sulzer

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GOVERNOR SULZER'S MESSAGE FOR A REFORM OF
THE ELECTION LAWS, FOR A SIMPLER AND
SHORTER BALLOT AND FOR DIRECT STATE-WIDE
PRIMARIES.

ALBANY, *April* 10, 1913.

To the Legislature:

As the legislative session is drawing to a close, I deem it my duty, in the interest of the general welfare, to again call your attention to the insistent demand of the people throughout the State for a reform of the election laws; for a more simple and shorter ballot; and for direct State-wide primaries.

To that end I renew my recommendations that the Legislature take up these very important questions without further delay and pass bills ere the adjournment for their accomplishment.

The Democratic party in convention assembled, at Syracuse, adopted the following plank as a part of its platform:

"We favor the amendment of existing election laws wherever experience has demonstrated that changes are necessary to improve their effective operation and to decrease the expense of elections; and in particular to facilitate the making of independent nominations.

"We condemn the Republican Assembly of 1912 for refusing to join the Democratic Senate in passing the Loomis bill which reduced the expense of elections by decreasing the number of days of registration and lowering the salaries of election officials.

"The Democratic party was the first to recognize the demand for a State-wide direct primary and so declared in the Rochester platform of 1910 and the Democratic Legislature of 1911 despite Republican opposition enacted the first State-wide direct primary law in the history of the State. We again declare in favor of the principle of the direct primary and we pledge our Legislature to adopt such amendments to the existing laws as will simplify and perfect the direct primary system."

The Progressive Party in its convention, last fall, adopted the following plank as a part of its platform:

“We pledge the enactment of a real direct primary law applicable to every elective office and a Presidential preference primary law.”

The Republican Party in its convention, last year, adopted the following plank as a part of its platform:

“We favor the short ballot, surrounding primary elections with the same safeguards as regular elections, the direct election of party committees, the direct nomination of party candidates in congressional, senatorial, Assembly, county and municipal subdivisions, and the direct election of delegates to State conventions, with the right of party electors to directly express their preference for nominations for State offices if they so desire.

“We further advocate that the cumbersome method of nomination of independent candidates for offices by petition be simplified so that those who are dissatisfied with the nominations made by regular political parties may have the names of their candidates placed upon the ballot in a less burdensome way.”

It is thus apparent that all the political parties in our State are irrevocably committed to these salutary reforms. As a matter of fact all the members of the Legislature are bound by these pledges, and will be false to their promises unless legislation is enacted at this session for electoral reform and a State-wide direct primary.

In my message to the Legislature at the beginning of the year I said: “We are pledged to the principle of direct primary laws State-wide in their scope and character, and I urge the adoption of such amendments as will simplify the procedure and make complete and more effective the direct primary system of the State.”

Believing as I do in these reforms I renew my recommendations, and unhesitatingly affirm that nothing will gratify me more than to be able to attach my signature to bills that will give the people of the State the best election laws and the most complete direct primary law possessed by any State in the Union.

It is my opinion that the people of the State are in favor of nominating all candidates for elective office from Governor and

United States Senator down to constable. The primary law should be as simple, and as honest, and as practicable, as legislation can make it. Every safeguard now thrown around the ballot box on election day should be invoked to protect the ballot box on primary election day.

The electors can rely on me to favor these changes in our election laws as I shall every other reform to restore the government of the people to the people. I have always claimed that the people can be trusted to conduct their government, and were just as capable of nominating candidates for office as they were of electing candidates to office. In a government such as ours we must rely on the people, and we should legislate in their interest and to promote their welfare.

I know that the people of this commonwealth, in common with the people of our sister States, believe that if they are qualified to choose by their votes on election day governors, judges, senators and congressmen, they are also competent on primary day to nominate these same officials, not some of these officials, but all of them, and I therefore urge the speedy enactment of legislation that will make every candidate for public office the choice of the people.

If it is wise to trust the people with the power to nominate some public officers, I am sure it is wise to trust them with the power to nominate all public officers. I believe it is as wise to trust them to nominate a governor as to trust them to nominate a constable, and as wise to trust them to nominate a judge of the court of appeals as to trust them to nominate a justice of the peace.

The people have been given this power in many other states and they have used it to bring about greatly improved conditions. Let the Empire State put itself in line with the foremost states in all the Union, by favoring nominations by the people, for thus only can we secure a government of the people.

While the main defect in our primary law is that we have not made it applicable to state officers yet there are other defects that we should remedy. Primary ballots in some districts in New York City have been from eleven to fourteen feet in length, and a law placing before an elector on primary day such a ballot as this deserves the ridicule it has received. As long as Assembly districts are made the unit of representation such ballots will be possible and I recommend that election districts instead of Assembly districts shall be made the unit of representation.

I also recommend the abolition of all committee designations; the prohibition of the party emblem on primary ballots; the removal of the party circle from the primary ballots; the prohibition of the use of party funds at primary elections; and the establishment of a state committee membership of one hundred and fifty — or one for each Assembly district.

I further recommend reducing the number of names required on a nominating certificate; the authorization of registration on primary day; and a proper limitation of the amount that may be expended by any candidate for the purpose of securing a nomination. The law should also prescribe the expenses which may be lawfully incurred in connection with candidacies for nomination, and should insure the publicity of all expenses.

The enactment of these regulations into law, will, I am confident, permit the voters of the state to construct political organizations from the bottom upwards, instead of permitting them to be constructed from the top downwards. The power which controls organizations is usually the power that controls nominations, and the power which controls nominations is the power which controls public officials.

How vitally important, therefore, that this power should be wielded by the many and not by the few. The changes which I advocate in our primary law are in harmony with the spirit of the times and of democratic institutions. They aim to restore to the people rights and privileges which have been usurped by the few, for the benefit of invisible interests which aim to control governmental officials, to pass laws, to prevent the passage of other laws, and to violate laws with impunity. To these invisible powers I am now, always have been, and always will be opposed.

No government can be free that does not allow all its citizens to participate in the formation and execution of its laws. Every other government is a form of despotism. The political history of recent years illustrates the truth that under the forms of democratic government popular control may be destroyed, and corrupt influences, through political organization, establish a veritable despotism.

That popular government, under God, shall be resurrected and made actual, the Legislature of this State is urged to carry forward the work of reforming our election and primary laws, so that in matters political every man shall count for one and no man shall count for more than one.

WILLIAM SULZER.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE SULZER BILL FOR STATE-WIDE DIRECT PRIMARIES.

ALBANY, N. Y., *April* 18, 1913.

To the Honorable Wm. Sulzer, Governor:

We, the undersigned, members of the Committee appointed on April 11th by your Excellency, and charged by you with the two-fold duty of drafting a State-wide direct primary measure in accord with the State platforms of all parties, and your special message to the Legislature of April 10, 1913, and to take such steps as seemed advisable tending to secure the enactment of such bill, have the honor to present this, our unanimous report:

1. We present herewith complete amendments to the primary law and suggest that no bill receive your sanction that does not provide (a) that election districts shall be made the unit of representation for all purposes; (b) that the convention system of nomination be abolished; (c) that the party emblem and circle be eliminated from primary ballots and that the use of party funds at primary elections be prohibited.

2. Careful consideration of conditions existing in all parts of the State convinces us that the great majority of electors, irrespective of party, are in complete sympathy with your position in this important matter and believe that your announced intention to (a) present the bill to the Legislature at the earliest practicable moment; (b) follow it with an emergency message urging its adoption and (c) in the event of its non-passage to forthwith appeal to the people and convene the Legislature in extraordinary session for special consideration of this measure will result in its enactment.

EDWIN M. CROCKER, *Chairman*,
J. VAN NESS PHILIP,
LAWRENCE B. DUNHAM,
FRANCIS A. WILLARD, *Secretary*,
CHARLES N. BULGER,
DANIEL J. DUGAN,
M. Z. HAVEN,
A. J. ELIAS,
DANIEL D. FRISBIE.

EXPLANATION OF THE FEATURES OF THE SULZER STATE-WIDE PRIMARY BILL.

1. All party candidates for public offices, except town, village and school district offices, to be nominated directly by the enrolled party voters at the official primary.

2. A State committee of 150 members, one from each Assembly listric, and a county committee for each county, one member from each election district, to be elected directly by the enrolled party voters at the official primary. All other committees to consist of the members of the State committee and the members of the county committee or committees residing in the political subdivision.

3. All designations of party candidates for public office and party position to be by petition only.

4. Every designating petition to contain the appointment of a committee for filling vacancies on the primary ballot.

5. Candidates to be arranged on the ballot under the title of the office. Order of arrangement to be determined in each group by lot by the commissioners of election in the presence of the candidates or their representatives. All emblems and straight voting circles on the primary ballot abolished. Names of candidates to be numbered from one upward to the last name on the ballot. Voter to indicate his choice by making a separate mark before the name of each candidate.

6. The number of enrolled party voters required to sign a designating petition is fixed at one per cent. of the party vote for Governor at the last preceding election, except that for State-wide offices the number need not exceed 3,000 enrolled voters of which fifty shall be from each of twenty counties. The number in the city of New York need not exceed 1,000 enrolled party voters, with other maximum limits for smaller subdivisions.

7. The primary district is made identical with the election district and primaries of all parties to be held at the same polling place, conducted by the election officers.

8. The chairman of a county committee may be elected from outside the committee membership.

9. Each party to have a party council to frame a platform; such council to consist in gubernatorial years of the party candidates for office to be voted for by the State at large, candidates for the Senate and Assembly and members of the State committee; in other years to consist of the members of the State committee, candidates for Assembly and representatives of the party in the State Senate.

10. A special enrollment each year in the month of June for a new party created by the vote at the last preceding general election.

11. The time for filing independent nominations subsequent to the filing of party nominations increased from five days to fourteen days. The number of signers of an independent certificate of nomination reduced to conform substantially to the number of signers of a party designation.

12. Election of United States senator by the people provided for in accordance with the recent constitutional amendment. Nominations to be made at official primary in the same manner as for the office of Governor.

13. Registration days in the country reduced from four to two and registration in the country by affidavit required where voter does not appear personally.

14. Boards of election in counties having less than one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants reduced from four members to two.

15. The use of party funds at primary election prohibited.

16. A separate bill is to be drafted amending the penal law limiting the amount that may be expended by a candidate for the purpose of seeking a nomination to public office or election to a party position.

17. Delegates and alternates from the State at large and from congressional districts to the national convention to be chosen by the direct vote of enrolled party voters at an official primary; but not more than four delegates and four alternates at large to be elected.

By the Committee,

EDWIN M. CROCKER,

Chairman.

Dated, ALBANY, N. Y., *April* 18, 1913.

VETO OF SENATOR BLAUVELT'S BILL AMENDING THE ELECTION LAW.

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.

ALBANY, *April* 24, 1913.

To the Senate:

I herewith return, without my approval, Senate bill Printed No. 2110, entitled "An act to amend the Election Law, generally."

This bill claims to be the fulfillment of the pledges of the last Democratic, Republican and Progressive State platforms, and purports to change and perfect the existing Primary and Election Laws, in establishing genuine, State-wide direct primaries for all candidates to be elected by the people.

As a matter of fact, the bill is a fraud, and does nothing of the kind. At best, it is a miserable makeshift.

Let me state that I have given careful examination and much consideration to the amendments contained in this bill. It is my conclusion, as I believe it must be the conviction of any fair-minded man who will examine this measure, that the slight amendments made to the existing laws are mere patchwork, changing only a few minor details that clearly demonstrate a design to tinker with a grave subject, by way of subterfuge, in order to deceive the voters.

These amendments will accomplish no honest reform, and would read like an amusing farce, if it were not for the fact that the members of the present Legislature who sanctioned its enactment, are irrevocably pledged and bound by the highest moral and political obligations to pass an honest and a genuine State-wide direct primary law.

Hence, in the light of all we know concerning this measure, it must be branded as enacted in bad faith; wholly fraudulent; and a glaring breach of the pledged faith of every member of the Legislature. There is no escape from this conclusion.

This measure is a fraud on the electors of the State; and is in no sense a real and an honest State-wide direct primary law; nor can it be conceivably said, from any point of view, to fulfill the pledges in the State platform of the respective political parties in our commonwealth.

Among the many shortcomings of the bill, it may be pointed out that it does not extend the system of direct nominations in any way. The reduction of the stipulated number of signatures for independent nominations to a minimum of five per cent. of the votes for Governor in a political unit, would actually compel an independent candidate, in many districts in New York City, for example, to obtain a greater number of signatures to his petition than are necessary under the present law.

The bill does not abolish the organization column, on the primary ballot, and the use of the party emblem. The suggested change in the style of ballot is not a change at all in the system of committee representation, and necessarily the primary ballots, particularly in New York City, will continue to reach the ridiculous and scandalous length of fourteen or more feet.

It leaves in the present law, the provision for State conventions; the designation of candidates by political committees; the use of the party emblem by the organization committees; and the possibility of voting the whole ticket by placing a cross in the circle. These are impediments to genuine reform in our election and primary laws, which the citizens have the right to expect their representatives in the present Legislature to eradicate and to abolish.

The amendments contained in the bill concerning the reduction of the number of registration days in the country from four to two: the limitation of the number of election commissioners in a county to two; and the reduction of the number of signers, in some cases to independent petitions, are satisfactory, as far as they go. but these possible good features are all contained in the State-wide direct primary bill, which I caused to be prepared, and to be introduced, for the consideration of the present Legislature, after I became thoroughly convinced that the present members of the Senate and the Assembly did not intend to redeem, in this matter, their pledges to the people.

As I have frequently said before, and which I desire now to reiterate with the greatest possible sincerity and earnestness, every member of the present Legislature is bound by the highest moral and political obligations to vote for a genuine, honest, and "State-wide" direct primary law, that will permit the voters of the State to construct and control political organizations from the bottom upward, instead of permitting them to be constructed and controlled, as at present, from the top downward. It must be

done, or we will stand convicted of deliberately getting office under false pretences.

The record will show that for years I have been a consistent advocate of genuine direct primaries, and I firmly believe that the enactment into law of a State-wide direct primary bill, along the lines of the measure I have caused to be prepared and to be introduced in the Legislature, will accomplish what the voters desire, and reflect greater credit on the members of the present Legislature than the passage of any other act that can, or will be presented, for the consideration of its members this year. There should be no adjournment until this is done. Let us be honest with the voters and keep our pledges to the people. At all events, as the Governor, I shall, and if the Legislature does not, I want the voters to know the reason why.

When we consider the waste, the extravagance, the inefficiency, and the corruption, which have recently been brought to light in connection with the administration of public affairs in our State, and which are the cause of painful humiliation to every thoughtful and patriotic citizen, all due, in no small degree, to the fact that in recent years political power has been gradually slipping away from the people who should always control it and wield it, there can be no doubt as to the necessity of this legislation and as to our duty in this all important matter.

Every intelligent citizen is aware that those who subvert the government to their personal advantage have found their greatest opportunities to do so through the adroit and skillful manipulation of our system of party caucuses and political conventions. We have been given leadership dishonorable to the various political parties of the State, and we have been given party tickets which reflect this dishonorable leadership in disgraceful secret alliances between big business interests and crooked and corrupt politics. It must cease or our free institutions are doomed.

The honest citizens of our State for years have demanded an end to these shameful conditions. They now insist on primary reform, thorough-going, radical and direct and complete, and I would be unfaithful to these salutary demands of the people of this State, and to the pledges of the political platforms of my own party if I were to give my official approval to this bill, which while it might do something to improve our primary law, goes such a short distance in the right direction, that it would seem like giving a stone to the voters when the people are asking for bread.

If we fail to make our system of direct primaries apply to State officers, we have left off our work of primary reform where the people expected us to begin. The wide-spread demand for direct primaries in our State found its origin mainly in the dissatisfaction arising from the failure of our State conventions to faithfully reflect the sentiments of the party voters. Every student of our recent political history knows this, and no one knows it better than I do.

In withholding executive approval of this bill I am prompted by the hope and the confidence that the Legislature, ere it adjourns, will sincerely redeem the promises regarding State-wide direct primaries of the political platforms of the Democratic, the Republican and the Progressive parties. In my judgment this must be done. The Democratic platform as adopted in the last two State conventions are explicit declarations for a "State-wide" direct primary. There can be no "State-wide" direct primary that does not apply to all State officers. Who can successfully deny this?

Any proposition less than this begs the whole question, and violates the pledged faith of all the parties to every voter in the State. I am now, and always have been and always will be in favor of carrying out our platform pledges to the letter. The best way to strengthen a political party is to keep the faith. I want to restore to the people of the State the complete control of their State government; to afford the voters of the State the freest expression of their choice of candidates for public office; and I believe that my pending "State-wide" direct primary bill embraces an honest, a sincere, a comprehensive, and a practical plan for these accomplishments.

Besides, I consider that my "State-wide" direct primary bill is an absolutely nonpartisan measure, which faithfully reproduces, and will carry into practice, the pledges of the three great political parties concerned in the last State election; and that, on its merits, it will meet the approval and have the support and the backing of a large majority of all the citizens of this State. I am convinced that every member of this Legislature is solemnly bound in honor by the highest moral and political obligations to vote for its enactment; and those who fail to do so will be forced to yield to public opinion and be replaced by others who will vote to give the State an efficient and just State-wide direct primary law, that will embrace every office, from Governor down to constable.

Is it necessary for me, or any other man, to say that in continuing the delegate system in nominating State officers, electors are not allowed to nominate directly? In continuing the delegate system, we are therefore ignoring and repudiating our platform pledges and betraying the people with false pretenses. I shall not be a party to such repudiation. I shall not endorse such a betrayal of the people. No political party can make me a political hypocrite.

This bill is disapproved.

(Signed) WILLIAM SULZER.

LET US KEEP THE FAITH.

Speech of Governor Sulzer to the Chairmen of the Democratic County Committees, Many Members of Same, and Several Hundred Others, Assembled in the Executive Chamber, Albany, N. Y., April 26, 1913, at Noon, to Discuss the State-Wide Direct Primary Bill Now Before the Legislature.

Governor Sulzer said:

“Gentlemen, it is a great pleasure for me to greet you, to-day, in the Executive Chamber of the State of New York.

“It is very good and very patriotic of you to come here — to leave your affairs and your business — and to give your time and your attention to the cause of the people, whom you in a very large degree so truly represent.

“We are met here, to-day, to do what we can to keep the faith, and to redeem our pledges. We promised the people in the last campaign that if we were successful, we would give them — among other things — a State-wide direct primary law.

“I ran for the Governorship on the platform of the Syracuse Convention. I helped to write that platform, and after I was nominated I stood on it throughout the campaign — squarely and honestly.

“At the request of my party I made a campaign through the State. They tell me I spoke to more people during the contest than any other Democratic candidate in all the history of the State. I told the people that if I were elected I would do everything in my power to carry out the pledges of my party as enunciated in the Syracuse platform. Many doubted the sincerity of these campaign speeches; but there was one man who never doubted their sincerity, and that is the man who is now Governor of the State. (Applause.)

“I meant what I said then, as I mean what I say now. No man, no faction, no party, can make me a political hypocrite.

(Applause.) When I cannot be honest in politics, I shall get out of politics. I believe honesty in politics will succeed, just the same as I believe honesty in business will succeed. If anyone doubts that, all he has to do is to think of what has been accomplished in this country during the past quarter of a century by the men who have dared to be true, and have been honest in politics. When I make a promise to the people I keep it, or I frankly tell the people why I cannot keep it. When my party makes a promise to the people, I want my party to keep the promise, or I want the people to know the reason why.

“Let us keep the faith. That is where I stand, and I will stand there to the end. If any Democrat is against me in my determination to keep Democratic faith, I must of necessity be against him. (Applause.)

“It is all very simple to me. If any Democrat in this State is against the Democratic State platform that man is no true Democrat; and as the Democratic Governor of the State I shall do everything in my power to drive that recreant Democrat out of the Democratic party. (Applause and Cries of Good.)

“That is all there is to this matter. We must keep faith with the voters. Let no man misunderstand me. I believe in calling a spade a spade. I believe in telling the truth. I am making war on no true Democrat. I want to treat every Democrat fair and square and just and right. I am a Democrat through and through, but I do not want any so-called Democrat to make war on me. If any Democrat in the State tries to make war on me I shall fight him to the end — and if necessary summon the party leaders here to decide between that man and me to determine who is honest and who is right. (Applause.)

“There are fifty-one County Chairmen assembled here out of sixty-two all told in the State. You are the representatives in your respective counties of the Democratic Party. You are its bone and sinew — its life and blood. You have been put in your positions by the Democratic voters in your counties. You have got to be true to these Democratic voters or you have got to reckon with me for your recreancy. Do not be deceived. There is no man in this State who knows public opinion better than I do, or

who trusts it more. Whatever I am; whatever I have been; whatever I hope to be; I owe to the people. (Applause.)

“ Yes, you know; and you know that the electors of the State of New York, regardless of party affiliations, are in favor of State-wide direct primaries. (Applause.) If that question were submitted to the people in any assembly district of this State it would be carried overwhelmingly for State-wide direct primaries.

“ There has never been a time in all the history of the Republic when the people could get some of the power the fathers failed to give them in the formative days of our country — when some thought the people incapable of self-government — that the people did not seize the power and feel grateful to those who gave it and trusted them. (Applause.)

“ Is there anyone here who doubts it? Is there any man in the Republic who doubts it? If so I point to the adoption of every amendment to the Federal Constitution from the days of Jefferson down. That is the evidence. That is the proof. Every student of our history knows it. So I say that if we will give the people this power to nominate; they will take it gladly; they will not abuse it; but on the contrary exercise it rightly and properly. The only men who fear to do that are the men who do not trust the people. (Applause.)

“ The Democratic party now has a great opportunity. I want it to make good and keep faith with the voters. Is that too much for the Democratic Governor to ask of the Democratic Party? All I want is to have the party in which I was born, and in which I am going to die — the party of my father, and the party of my hopes, and my ambitions, and my aspirations — to be true to itself; true to its promises; and true to its principles. (Applause.)

“ What Democrat would have me be false? If there be such, let him come forward now, or forever hold his peace. The Governor here at this desk is the visible government. His administration is open and above board. Against great difficulties and many obstacles this Governor is trying to do his duty to all as God gives him the light to see the right. What Democrat wants him to fail? In his struggle for the right, for honesty, for civic righteousness, and for better things he appeals to the electorate

of the State of New York to come forward now and help restore the government to the people. In this battle for the right; in this fight for the people; in this struggle to have the Democratic Party keep its pledges the Governor summons the Democrats of the State to come to the support of the man they elected Governor. (Applause.) So far as he is concerned there will be no step backward. There shall be no compromise. There is no middle ground. (Applause.)

“Can I say more? Can any human being whose heart is true and whose head is steady do more than I am doing? Does any man who ever occupied this office deserve help more than I do?

“Rest assured that in this struggle those who help me will win my gratitude; that those who oppose me will merit condemnation. Every Democratic chairman, of every Democratic Committee, in every county of the State, must now decide whether or not he is going to be with me or going to be against me in trying to carry out our platform pledges and to make good our political promises. If he is with me I will be with him. If he is against me, mark well what I say, I shall be against him. He must either be a party to driving me out of public life, or I must be a party to driving him out of the Democratic party. (Applause.)

“Let me tell you something. I have been an advocate of State-wide direct primaries ever since the movement began. As a member of Congress, for many years, I know exactly how this reform began to restore the government to the people. For a long time we Democrats were in a hopeless minority in the Congress of the United States, and every time we would get beaten by the majority, we would retire to the cloak room to nurse our defeats, and to take counsel as to what we could do to prevent similar disasters. We finally determined that the only way we could ever get control of the Congress was through the agency of direct primaries. In every southern State since the reconstruction days they have had State-wide direct primaries; and every southern State has continued to be Democratic. So we thought it would be a good thing to extend this system of letting the people nominate as well as elect. Finally we extended it as to some of the inter-mountain States; and then to some of the

Pacific Coast States; and then to the Middle-West and the East; so that to-day in these United States, thirty-nine out of the forty-eight States have State-wide primary laws — many of them much more radical than this bill of ours; many of them far more progressive; many of them much more in advance. In nearly every one of these States the Democratic party seldom won an election until direct primary laws were written upon the statute books. (Applause.)

“So if any one tells you that State-wide direct primaries is not a good thing for the Democratic party, you deny it, and point to what the Democrats in sister States have done through the agency of this beneficent law.

“No man fears direct primaries, except a man whose character, and whose ability, and whose mentality, and whose democracy cannot bear the searchlight of publicity. (Applause.) No man fears direct primaries, unless he wants to be the creature of the invisible government rather than be the servant of the people. (Applause.)

“Our State-wide direct primary bill is a good measure. I am for it. My friends are for it. The Democratic party is for it. On this issue there is no middle ground. The Democrats of the State must be with their Democratic Governor, or they have got to be against the Democratic party. Let every Democrat decide. All my life I have fought for the right; for the truth; for justice and progress and humanity. I shall not change now. (Applause.)

“What Democrat in our State is going to be false to the platform, to be a traitor to the party, and to desert me in the performance of my duty? In this cause for direct primaries I have no fear of the ultimate result. The people will win. I say deliberately to you Democrats that you have got to line up your representatives in the Legislature to pass this honest, this just, this fair, this nonpartisan State-wide direct primary bill, to keep our pledges, or I will line up the people against you, and your representatives, for your failure to be true to our platform. (Applause.)

“Let no one be in doubt. If you think I will not fight, you have another think coming. (Laughter and applause.) If you imagine

that I do not know the rules of the game, remember, I have been in the game practically all my life. (Laughter.) They beat Governor Hughes, but I am determined they shall not beat Governor Sulzer. (Laughter and applause.)

“Let me tell you that if the friends of this reform cannot write this State-wide direct primary law upon the statute books of our State before the 31st day of next December we do not know the power behind this desk. (Applause.) If we fail in this fight it will be due to the fact that we do not realize the powers and the agencies of the Executive. All of that power, all that is honest, and all of those agencies, will be used from now henceforward to defeat and to crush the Democrats who would make the Democratic party of the State of New York the laughing stock of the people; who would make the Democratic party of the State of New York dishonor its name and become a political hypocrite. (Applause.)

“This afternoon at two o'clock the joint committees of the Legislature will give a hearing on our State-wide direct primary bill. This measure has been very carefully prepared by some of the ablest minds in our State, and some of the foremost leaders of all political parties in our commonwealth. It meets with the approval of the people, and substantially carries out the promises of the platforms adopted by all parties in the last campaign. Every Progressive, every Republican, and every Democrat in the Legislature is bound in honor to vote for this measure.

“I ask you in the name of our party, in the name of honesty, in the name of truth, in the name of progress, to attend this meeting, and by your voice and your presence, by every effort known to the cause of good government, to do all in your power to get this State-wide direct primary bill written upon the statute books before this Legislature adjourns. (Applause.)

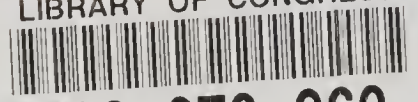
“Let us do all in our power to make the representatives elected by the people keep the faith; keep their pledges; and do what the people want. Let us do all in our power to compel the men who were elected upon these platform promises, who pledged their words to the people — when they asked for their suffrages — to carry them out — who got into office on these platforms and by these pledges, to make them good now, or never go back home to tell the reason why they failed. (Applause.)

“ That is about all I think I ought to say, and perhaps I have said too much. But never mind — whatever I have said, I hope will be pondered over by the men who are anxious to defeat the will of the people, who are trying to violate the faith of the party; and who seem determined to break the pledges of democracy.

“ Let us be true to ourselves. Let us be honest. Let us keep the faith. And just so sure as the morning follows the night, just so sure will the people of the State bless every man who has done his duty in this great cause. (Applause.)

“ In conclusion I cannot refrain from saying that this is an historic day in the annals of our State. This is a memorable scene, seldom, if ever, witnessed in this Executive Chamber. Some may criticise me for doing what I am doing. I cannot help that. Those who believe in me know I am doing my duty. I shall submit patiently to unjust criticism. But I know — and no one on earth knows it better — that in the last analysis, when the future historian comes to pen the story of this day, he will give a large page in our annals to the brave men who are assembled here, with determination in their hearts, to see to it that the representatives in the Legislature are not false to their pledges; not false to their party; and not false to the people. (Great applause.)

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